A TRVE RE-lation of ſuch occur-

rences and accidents of noateas hath hapned in Virginia ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, which is now reſident in the South part thereof, till the laſt returne from thence.

Written by Captaine Smith *one of the ſaid Collony, to a worſhipfull* friend of his in England.

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A

True relation of ſuch occurrences and accidents of note, as hath hapned in *Virginia*, ſince the firſt planting of that Collony, *which is now reſident in the South part* thereof, till the laſt returne.

KInde Sir, commendations remembred, &c. You ſhall underſtand that after many croſſes in the downes by tempeſts, wee arriued ſafely vppon the Southweſt part of the great Canaries: within fewre or fiue daies after we ſet ſaile for Dominica, the 26. of Aprill: the firſt land we made, wee fell with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of the Bay of Chiſſiapiacke, which at that preſent we little erpected, hauing by a cruell ſtorme bene put to the Northward: anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a ſhore with the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were aſſaited with certaine Indians, which charged them within Piſtoll ſhot: in which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were ſhot: whereupon, Captaine Newport ſeconding them, made a ſhot at them, which the Indians little reſpected, but hauing ſpent their arrowes retyred without harme, and in that place was the Bee opened, wherin the Counſell for Virginia was nominated: and arriuing at the place where wee are now ſeated, the Counſell was ſworne, the Preſident elected, which for that yeare was Maiſter Edw. Maria Wingfield, where was

made choice for our situation, a verie fit place for the erecting of a great cittie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our prouision was brought a shore, and with as much speede as might bee wee went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discouer the Riuer, some fiftie or sixtie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh Springes, the people in all places kindely intreating vs, daunsing and feasting vs with Strawberries, Mulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie prouisions whereof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindely requited their least fauours, with Bels, Pinnes, Needles, beades or Glasses, which so contented them that his liberalitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindely to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selues in a little Ile foure or fiue sauages came vnto vs, which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney, they often met vs, trading with vs for such prouision as we had, and arriuing at Arlatecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindely entertained vs, giuing vs in a guide to go with vs vp the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Empero^r taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindely. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an Ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones ỹ in midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad dispersseth the streame, as there is not past fiue or sixe foote at a low water, and to the shore scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the freshes by reason of the Rockes haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines,

mountaines, the rockes being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vains of glittring spangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the nert day (being Whitsunday after dinner) we returned to the fals, leauing a mariner in pawn with the Indians for a guide of theirs, hee that they honoured for King followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trifled in looking vpon the Rockes and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Gown and a Hatchet: returning to Arsetecke, and stayed there the nert day to obserue the height thereof, & so with many signes of loue we departed. The nert day the Queene of Agamatack kindely intreated vs, her people being no lesse contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their diuing for Mussels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as wee departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke, the people the nert morning seemed kindely to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Jealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arseteck had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischiefe at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue visited Paspahegh and Tappahanocke, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return, we repaired to the fort with-all speed, where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before had assalted the fort, & supprised it, had not God (beyond al their expectations) by meanes of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordinances & Muskets, caused them to retire, they had entred the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Corne, their armes beeing then in driefats & few ready but certain Gentlemē of their own, in which

conflict

conflict, moſt of the Counſel was hurt, a boy ſlaine in the Pinnas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt Withall ſpeede we paliſadoed our Fort: (each other day) for ſixe or ſeauen daies we had alarums by ambuſcadoes, and foure or fiue cruelly wounded by being abroad: the Indians loſſe wee know not, but as they report three were ſlain and diuers hurt.

Captaine Newport hauing ſet things in order, ſet ſaile for England the 22 of June, leauing proviſion for 13. or 14 weeks. The day before the Ships departure, the King of Pamaunke ſent the Indian that had met vs before in our diſcouerie, to aſſure vs peace, our fort being then paliſadoed round, and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that through ſome diſcontented humors, it did not ſo long continue, for the Preſident and Captaine Goſnold, with the reſt of the Counſell, being for the moſte part diſcontented with one another, in ſo much, that things were neither carried with that diſcretion nor any buſines effected in ſuch good ſort as wiſdome would, nor our owne good vnd ſafetie required thereby, and through the hard dealing of our Preſident, the reſt of the counſell beeing diuerſlie affected through his audacious commaund, and for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honeſt) and wiſhing the beſt good, yet ſo ſicke and weake, and my ſelfe ſo diſgrac'd through others malice, through which diſorder God (being angrie with vs) inplagued vs with ſuch ſain and ſickneſs, that the liuing were ſcarce able to bury the dead: our want of ſufficient and good victualls, with continuall watching, foure or fiue each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe cauſe, onely of Sturgion wee had great ſtore, whereon our men would ſo greedily ſurfet, as it coſt many their liues: the Sack, Aquauitie, and other preſeruatiues for our health, being kept onely in the Preſidents hands, for his owne diet, and his few aſſociates: ſhortly after Captaine Goſnold fell ſicke, and within three weekes died, Captaine Ratcliffe being then alſo verie ſicke and weake, and my ſelfe hauing alſo taſted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods aſſiſtãce being well recouered. Kendall about this time, for diuers

reaſons

reasons deposed from being of the Councell: and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to bring vs Corne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine Wingefield hauing ordred the affaires in such sort, that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidentie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his course was elected.

Our prouision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Corne and bread ready made: and also there came such abundance of Fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, whereupon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commoditie was Pitch which we made into little chissels, the president, and Captaine Martins sickness, constrayned me to be Cape Marchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company, who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were most of our chiefest men either sicke or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idlenes, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne releise without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of ye riuer, to Kegquouhtan an Indian Towne, to trade for Corne, and try the riuer for Fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with careleslesse kindnes, offred vs little pieces of bread, & small handfulls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like maner I entertained their kindnes, and in like scorne offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindenes, I liberally contented with free gifte, such trifles as wel cõtented them: finding this colde

comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, for now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Corne: under colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discouer the Towne, their Corne, and force, to trie their intent, in that they desired me vp to their houses: which well vnderstanding, with foure shot I visited them, with fish, oysters, bread and beere, they kindly traded with me and my men, being no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, for well I might with twentie men haue fraighted a Shippe with Corne: The Towne conteineth eighteene houses, pleasantly seated vpon three acres of ground, vppon a plaine, halfe inuironed with a great Bay of the great Riuer, the other parte with a Baye of the other Riuer falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile fit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of fortie yardes. With fifteene bushells of Corne I returned towards our Forte: by the way I encountred with two Canowes of Indians, who came aboord me, being the inhabitants of waroskoyack, a kingdome on the south side of the riuer, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with corne, & with neare thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name whereof gaue great comfort to our despairing company: time thus passing away, & hauing not aboue 14. daies vituals left, some motiõs were made about our presidents & Capt. Archer, going for England, to procure a supply, in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses, and our President & Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards Powhatan, to trade for corne: Lotts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine, & while she was a rigging, I made a voiage to Topohanack, where arriuing, there was but certain women & children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw neere, truck they durst

durſt not, corne they had plenty, & to ſpoile I had no cõmiſſion: In my returne to Paſpahegh, I traded with that churliſh & trecherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 buſhels of corne, they offred to take our pieces and ſwords, yet by ſtelth, but ſeeming to diſlike it, they were ready to aſſault vs, yet ſtãding vpon our guard in coaſting the ſhore, diuers out of the woods would meet with vs with corn & trade, but leaſt we ſhould be conſtrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly fal to reuenge, ſeeing them dog vs, from place to place, it being night, & our neceſſitie not fit for warres, we tooke occaſion to returne with 10 buſhells of corne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies to that nation of Paſpahegh but eache time returned with 8. or 10. buſhells. All things being now ready for my iourney to Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my ſelfe for the barge, as well for diſcouerie, as trading, the Pinnace, 5. Marriners. & 2. landmen to take in our ladings at conuenient places. The 9 of Nouember I ſet forward, for the diſcouery of the country of Chikahamania, leauing the pinnace the next tide to followe and ſtay for my comming at Point weanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this riuer falleth into the great riuer at Paſpahegh, 8 miles aboue our fort: that afternoone I ſtayed the eb, in the bay of Paſpahegh with the Indiãs: towards the euening certaine Indians haled me, one of them being of Chikahamania, offred to cõduct me to his country, the Paſpahegheans grudged therat: along we went by moonelight, at midnight he brought vs before his Towne, deſiring one of our men to go vp with him, whom he kindely intertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning I went vp to the towne, and ſhewed them what copper and hatchets they ſhold haue for corne, each family ſeeking to giue me moſt content: ſo long they cauſed me to ſtay ẏ 100 at leaſt was expecting my comming by the riuer with corne, what I liked I bought, and leaſt they ſhould perceiue my too great want I went higher vp the riuer: this place is called Manoſquoſick a quarter of a mile from the riuer, conteining thirtie or fortie houſes, vppon an exceeding high land: at the foote of the hill towards the riuer, is a plaine wood, watered with many ſpringes, which fall twentie yardes right downe

into the riuer: right against ẏ same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Ilands, by the parting of the riuer, abounding with fish & foule of all sorts a mile from thence is a Towne called Oraniocke, I further discouered the Townes of Mansa, Apanaock, Werawahone, & Mamanahūt at eche place kindely vsed, especially at the last, being the hart of the Country, where were assembled 200. people with such aboūdāce of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship: I returned to Paspahhegh, & considering ẏ want of Corne at our Fort, it being night, with ẏ ebb, by midnight I arriued at our fort, where I found our Pinnis run aground: the next morning I vnladed seaué hogsheds into our store, the next morning I returned againe: the second day I arriued at Mamanahūt, wher ẏ people hauing heard of my cōming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle & great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned: at my departure they requested me to hear our pieces, being in the midst of the riuer, which in regard of ẏ eccho seemed a peale of ordnance, many birds and fowles they see vs dayly kil that much feared them, so desirous of trade wer they, ẏ they would follow me with their canowes, & for any thing giue it me, rather then returne it back. so I vnladed again 7 or 8. hogsheads at our fort. Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirrits not content with Gods prouidence, still grew mutinous, in so much, that our president hauing ocasion to chide the smith for his misdemeanor, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offred to strike him with some of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being vppon the ladder continuing verry obstinate, as hoping vpon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, & declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captaine Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condēned & shot to death. This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discouery of the Riuer of Checka Hamania: this third time I discouered ẏ Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, moysenock Righkahauck, Nechanichock, Mattalūt, Attamuspincke, & diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet la-

ding

ding the barge, I returned to our fort: our store being now indifferently wel prouided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain Martin & my selfe, standing chiefly against it, and in fine after many debatings, pro & contra, it was reolued to stay a further resolutiõ: this matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discouery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of ẏ necessitie we had to take in prouision whilst it was to be had: 40. miles I passed vp ẏ riuer which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, & 3. fatham & a half deep, exceeding osey, many great low marshes, & many high lãds, especially about ẏ midst at a place called Moysonicke, a Peninsule of 4. miles circuit, betwixt two riuers ioyned to the main, by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50 yards from the high water marke: on both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh, more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, & diuers sorts of fowles none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there I had not seene, of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffes commonly red, white and yellowe coloured sand, & vnder red & white clay, fish great plenty, & peop'e aboundance, the most of their inhabitants, in view of ẏ neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired: at the end of forty miles this riuer inuironeth many low Ilands, at each high water drowned for a mile, where it vnites it selfe, at a place called Apokant the highest Towne inhabited. 10. miles higher I discouered, with the barge in the mid way, a great tree hindred my passage which I cut in two: heere the riuer became narrower, 8. 9 or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, & the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy soyle. this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue beene able to resolue this doubt, & to discharge the imputation of malicious tungs, that halfe suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as my selfe, we resolued to hier a Ca-

now, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leaue the barge secure, and put our selues vppon the aduenture: the country onely a vast and wilde wildernes, and but onely that Towne: within three or foure mile we hired a Canow, and 2. Indians to row vs ẏ nert day a fowling: hauing made such prouision for the barge as was nedfull, I left her there to ride, with expresse charge not any to go ashore til my returne. Though some wise men may condemn this too bould attempt of too much indiscretion, yet if they well cõsider the friendship of the Indians, in conducting me, the desolatenes of the country, the probabilitie of some lacke, & the malicious iudges of my actions at home, as also to haue some matters of worth to incourage our aduenturers in england, might well haue caused any honest minde to haue done the like, as wel for his own discharge as for the publike good: hauing 2 Indians for my guide & 2 of our own company, I set forward, leauing 7 in the barge: hauing discouered 20 miles further in this desart, the riuer still kept his depth and bredth, but much more combred with trees: here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then ẏ barge had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our vitualls: one of the Indians I toke with me, to sẽ the nature of the soile, & to crosse the boughts of the riuer, the other Indian I left with Mr. Robbinson and Thomas Emry, with their matches light and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat at the first sight of any Indian, but within a quarter of an houre I heard a lowd cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning peece, supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had betraid vs, presently I seazed him & bound his arme fast to my hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reuenged on him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was done, but as we went discourssing, I was struck with an arrow on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion I espied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I preuented in discharging a french pistoll: by that I had charged againe 3 or 4 more did the like, for the first fell downe and fled: at my discharge they did the like, my minde I made my barricado who offered not to strine, 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me but short, 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the

king

king of Pamaũck called Opeckãkenough with 200 men, in uironedinc, eache drawing their bowe, which done they laid them vpon the ground, yet without shot, my minde treated betwixt them and me of conditions of peace, he discouered me to be the Captaine, my request was to retire to ẏ boate, they demaunded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely me they would reserue: the Indian importuned me not to shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a low quagmire, and minding them more then my steps, I slept fast into the quagmire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth: thus surprised, I resolued to trie their mercies, my armes I cast from me, till which none durst approch me: being ceazed on me, they drew me out and led me to the King, I presented him with a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the vse therof, whereat he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the sunne, moone, staires and plannets, with kinde speeches and bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay and Iohn Robbinson slaine, with 200 30. arrowes in him. Emry I saw not, I perceiued by the abounndance of fires all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they vsed me with what kindnes they could: approaching their Towne, which was within 6 miles where I was taken, onely made as arbors and couered with mats, which they remoue as occasion requires: all the women and children, being aduertised of this accident, came forth to meet them, the King well guarded with 20 bowmen ſ flanck and rear, and each flanck before him a sword ẏ a pace, and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand a bowman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led forth amongst the trees in a bishion, eache his bowe and a handfull of arrowes, a quiuer at his back grimly painted: on eache flanck a sargeant, the one running alwaies towards the front the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding good order, this being a good time continued, they caste themselues in a ring with a daunce, and so eache man departed to

his

his lodging, the Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper, what I left was reserued for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning 3. women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could deuour I had, my gowne, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gaue me again, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could deuise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection: much they threatned to assault our forte, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahegh, who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance: the King tooke great delight in vnderstanding the manner of our ships, and sayling the seas, the earth & skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominicus he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me, the course of our riuer, and that within 4 or 5 daies iourney of the falles, was a great turning of salt water: I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahegh, with a letter I would write, by which they should vnderstand, how kindly they vsed me, and that I was well, least they should reuenge my death: this he granted and sent three men, in such weather, as in reason were vnpossible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell mindes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance & the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a salvage to my lodging, with his sword to haue slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offred to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King vnderstanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he tould me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurte: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to preuent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdome,

vpon

vpon the top of the next northerly riuer, called Youghtanan, hauing leaſted me, he further led me to another branch of the riuer, called Mattapament, to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of theis Countries, a ſonne of the great Emperour of Pewhakan, whom as yet I ſuppoſed to bee at the Fals, to him I told him I muſt goe, and ſo returne to Paſpahegh, after this foure or fiue dayes march, we returned to Raſawrack, the firſt towne they brought me to, where binding the Mats in bundels, they marched two dayes iourney, and croſſed the Riuer of Youghtanan, where it was as broad as Thames: ſo conducting me to a place called Menapacute in Pamaunke, where ye King inhabited: the next day another King of that nation called Kekataugh, hauing received ſome kindnes of me at the Fort, kindly inuited me to feaſt at his houſe, the people from all places flocked to ſee me, each ſhewing to content me. By this the great King hath foure or fiue houſes, each containing foureſcore or an hundred roote in length, pleaſantly ſeated vpon an high ſandy hill, from whence you may ſee weſterly a goodly low Country, the riuer before the which his crooked courſe caſteth many great Perſhes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houſes, and many large plaines are here together inhabited, more abundance of fiſhe fowle, and a pleaſanter ſeat cannot be imagined: the King with fortie Bowmen to guard me, intreated me to diſcharge my Piſtoll, which they there preſented me with a mark at fiftie ſcore to ſtrike therwith but to ſpoil the practiſe I broke the cocke, wherat they were much diſcontented though a chaunce ſuppoſed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke, a kingdome vpon another Riuer northward: the cauſe of this was, that the yeare before, a Shippe had beene in the Riuer of Pamaunke, who hauing beene kindly entertained by Powharan their Emperour, they returned thence, and diſcouered the Riuer of Topahanocke, where being received with like kindneſſe, yet he ſlew the King, and tooke of his people, and they ſuppoſed I were her, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and vſing me kindly, the

next day we departed.

This Riuer of Topahanock, seemeth in breadth not much lesse then that we dwell vpon. At the mouth of the Riuer is a Countrey called Cuttata women vpwards is Marraugh tacum Tapohanock, Appamatuck, and Nantaugs tacum, at Topmanahocks, the head issuing from many Mountaines, the next night I lodged at a hunting town of Powhatams, and the next day arriued at Waranacomoco vpon the riuer of Pamauncke, where the great king is resident: by the way we passed by the top of another little riuer, which is betwixt the two called Payankatank. The most of this Countrey though Desert, yet exceeding fertil, good timber, most hils and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

Arriuing at Weramocomoco their Emperour, proudly lying vppon a Bedstead a foote high vpon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and couered with a great Couering of Rahaughcums: At heade sat a woman, at his feete another, on each side sitting vppon a Matte vppon the ground were raunged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades ouer their shoulders: their heades painted in redde and with such a graue and Maiesticall countenance, as draue me into admiration to see such state in a naked Saluage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Victuals, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Comoughs relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me vpon the same. Hee asked mee the cause of our comming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemie, beeing ouer powred, neare put to retreat, and by extreame weather put to this shore, where landing at Chesipiack, the people shot vs, but at Kequoughtan they kindly vsed vs, we by signes demaunded fresh water, they described vs vp the Riuer was all fresh water, at Paspahegh, also they kindly vsed vs, our Pinnsse being leake wee were inforced to

stay

ſtay to mend her, till Captaine Newport my father came to conduct vs away. He demaunded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him, in that I would haue occaſion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other ſide the maine, where was ſalt water, my father had a childe ſlaine, whiche we ſuppoſed Monocan his enemie, whoſe death we intended to reuenge.

After good deliberation, he began to deſcribe mee the Countreys beyonde the Falles, with many of the reſt, confirming what not onely Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had beene priſoner to Powhatan had before tolde mee, but ſome called it fiue dayes, ſome fiue, ſome eight, where the ſayde water daſhed amongeſt many ſtones and rockes, each ſtorme which cauſed oft tymes the heade of the River to bee brackiſh: Anchanachuck he deſcribed to bee the people that had ſlaine my brother, whoſe death hee would reuenge. He deſcribed alſo vpon the ſame Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Patauomerke, Nations vpon the toppe of the heade of the Bay, vnder his territories, where the yeare before they had ſlaine an hundred, he ſignified their crowmes were ſhauen, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, Swords like Pollaxes.

Beyond them he deſcribed people with ſhort Coates, and Sleeues to the Elbowes, that paſſed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes hee deſcribed mee to the heade of the Bay, which ſeemed to bee a mightie River, iſſuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas, the people cloathed at Ocamahowan. He alſo confirmed, and the Southerly Countries alſo, as the reſt, that reported vs to be within a day & a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock, 6. frõ Roonock, to the ſouth part of the backe ſea: he deſcribed a countrie called Anone, where they haue abundance of Braſſe, and houſes walled as ours. I requited his diſcourſe, ſeeing what pride hee had in his great and ſpacious Dominions, ſeeing that all hee knewe were vnder his Territories.

In describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subiect to our great King whose subiect I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gaue him to vnderstand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting were vnder captain Newport my father, whom I intituled the Meworames which they call King of all the waters, at his greatnesse hee admired, and not a little feared: hee desired mee to forsake Paspaliegh, and to line with him vpon his River, a Countrie called Capa Howasicke: hee promised to giue me Corne, Venison, or what I wanted to send vs, Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe vs. This request I promised to performe: and thus hauing with all the kindnes hee could deuise, sought to content me: hee sent me home with 4. men, one that dayly carried my Gowne and Knapsacke after me, two other loded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This River of Pamaunke is not past twelue mile from that we dwell on, his course northwest, and westerly, as the other. Weraocomoco, is vpon salt water, in breath two myles, and so keepeth his course without any tarrying some twenty miles, where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it diuideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to Goughland, as broad as Thames, and nauigable, with a Boate threescore or fourescore miles, and with a Shippe fifty, exceeding crooked, and manie low grounds and marishes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of Youghtomam, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower, but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Aboue Manapacumter, many high sandie Mountaines. By the River is many Rockes, seeming if not of seuerall Mines: The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the River, as I see in the discouerie therof with captain Newport, is halfe a mile broad, & within foure miles not aboue a Musket shot: the channell exceeding good and deepe, the River straight to the dominions. Kiskirk the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their

Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: three or foure dayes after my taking seuen of them in the house where I lay, each with a rattle began at ten a clocke in the morning to sing about the fire, which they inuironed with a Circle of meale, and after a foote or two from that, at the end of each song, layde downe two or three graines of wheate, continuing this order till they haue included five or seuen hundred in a haire Circle, and after that two or three more Circles in like maner, a hand breadth from other: that done, at each song, they put betwixt euerie three, two or five graines, a little sticke, so counting as an old woman her Pater noster.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round with little Skinnes of Weasels, and other vermine, with a Crotwnet of feathers on his head, painted as vgly as the diuell, at the end of each song will make many signes and demonstrations, with strange and vehement actions, great cakes of Deare suet, Deare, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire, till five a clocke in the Euening, their howling would continue ere they would depart. Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall to the number of twentie or thirtie, assembled themselues in a round circle, a good distance from the towne, where they told me they there consulted where to hunt the next day: so fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they worship, a more vglier thing cannot be described: one they haue for chiefe sacrifices, which also they call Quiyoughquosick: to cure the sick, a man with a Rattle, and extreame howling, chowting, singing, and such violent gestures, and Anticke actions ouer the patient will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient out of their vnable stomacks, or any diseased place, as no labour will more tire them, Tobacco they offer the water in passing in calme weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and weeping: their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within their houses, with all his beads, iewels, hatchets, and copper: the other in graues like ours. They acknowledge no reiurrection. Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his bre-

theren ſucceéded other.

For the Crowne, their heyres inherite not, but the firſt heyres of the Siſters, and ſo ſucceſſiuely the weomens heires: For the Kings haue as many weomen as they will, his Subiects two, and moſt but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trifled away that day, and would not goe to our Forte by any perſwaſions: but in certaine olde hunting houſes of Paſpahegh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne riſe, we ſet forward for our Fort, where we arriued within an houre, where each man with the trueſt ſignes of ioy they could expreſſe welcommed me, except M. Archer, and ſome 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my abſence, ſworne Counſellour, though not with the conſent of Captaine Martin: great blame and imputation was laide vpon me by them, for the loſſe of our two men which the Indians ſlew: inſomuch that they purpoſed to depoſe me, but in the midſt of my miſeries, it pleaſed God to ſend Captaine Nuport, who arriuing there the ſame night, ſo tripled our ioy, as for a while theſe plots againſt me were deferred, though with much malice againſt me, which captain Newport in ſhort time did plainly ſée. Now was maiſter Scriuener, captaine Martin, and my ſelfe, called Counſellers.

Within fiue or ſixe dayes after the arriuall of the Ship, by a miſchaunce our Fort was burned, and the moſt of our apparell, lodging and priuate proviſion, many of our old men diſeaſed, and of our new for want of lodging periſhed. The Emperour Powhatan each weéke once or twice ſent me many preſents of Weare, bread Raugroughcuns, halfe alwayes for my father, whom he much deſired to ſée, and halfe for me: and ſo continually importuned by meſſengers and preſents, that I would come to fetch the corne, and take the Countrie their King had giuen me, as at laſt Captaine Newport reſolued to go ſee him. Much acquaintance I had amongſt the Indians, and ſuch confidence they had in me, as neare the Fort they would not come till I came to them, euery of them calling me by my name, would not ſell any thing till I had firſt receiued their preſents, and what

they

they had that I liked, they referred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they usually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President, and the rest of the Councell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newports greatnesse I had so described, as they conceyued him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and servants. We had agreed with ỹ king of Paspahegh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Reonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled. We landed him at Warraskoyack, where playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further. Captaine Newport, maister Scrimener, and my selfe, found the mouth of Pamaunckes river, some 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henricke, the channell good as before expressed.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, being iealous of the intent of this politick salvage, to discouer his intent the better, I with 20. shot armed in Jacks went a shore, the Bay where he dwelleth hath in it 3. creeks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all oft, being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the creeke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile, the Emperors sonne called Naukaquawis, the captaine that tooke me, and diverse others of his chiefe men conducted me to their kings habitation, but in the mid way I was intercepted by a great creek over which they had made a bridge of grained stokes & railes, the king of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the iourney the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischiefe: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right landing, when I found my selfe first deceyued, and knowing by experience the most of their courages to proceede from others feare, though fewe lyked the passage, I intermingled the kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forward, leaving halfe at the one ende to make a guard for the passage of the Front. The Indians seeing the weakenesse of the Bridge, came with a Canow, and tooke me in of the middest with foure or five more, being landed wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed, two in

a ranke

a ranke we marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood forty or fifty great Platters of fine bread, being entred the house, with loude tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude salvage, having his fineſt women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is expressed, himselfe as upon a Throne at the upper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet have often seene, either in Pagan or Christian, with a kinde countenance hee bad mee welcome, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe to sit, I presented him a suite of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Jewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oration made by three of his Nobles, if there be any amongſt Salvages, kindly accepted them, with a publike confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship.

After that, he commaunded the Quéene of Apamatuc, a comely yong Salvage, to give me water, a Turkie-cocke, and breade to eate: being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation doth much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. I told him he remained aboord, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie coũtenance he asked me for certaine peeces I which promised him, when I went to Paspahegh, I told according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Demy Culverings, in that he so desired a great Gunne, but they refused to take them, whereat with a lowde laughter, he desired to give him some of lesse burthen, as for the other I gave him them, being sure that none could carrie them: but where are theſe men you promised to come with you, I told him without, who thervpon gave order to have them brought in, two after two, ever maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselves ever with thankes, he would salute me, and caused each of them to have foure or five pound of bread given them. This done, I asked him for the corne and ground he promised me. He told me I should have it, but he expected to have all theſe men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subiects. I told him that was a ceremonie our ene-

mies

mies desired, but never our Friends, as we presented our selues vnto him, yet that he should not doubt of our friendship: the next day my Father would giue him a child of his, in full assurance of our loues, and not only that, but when he should thinke it conuenient, wee would deliuer vnder his subiection the Country of Manacam and Pocoughtaonack his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediatly with attentiue silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me Awerowances of Powhaton, and that all his subiects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Paspagheans, but Powhatans, and that the Corne, women and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people: this proffered kindnes for many reasons we contemned not, but with the best Languages and signes of thankes I could expresse, I take my leaue.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me forth, and caused each of my men to haue as much more bread as he could beare: giuing me some in a basket, & as much he sent a board for a present to my Father: victuals you must know is all there wealth, and the greatest kindnes they could shew vs: arriuing at the Riuer, the Barge was fallen so low with the ebbe, though I had giuen order and oft sent to prevent the same, yet the messengers deceiued me, the Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King vnderstanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and Mamoratacke, to conduct mee to a great house sufficient to lodge me, where entring I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians vsed all diligence to make vs fires, & giue vs content: the kings Orators presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take our bowes or arrowes, or offer any iniury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venizon to stay my stomacke: in the euening he sent for me to come onely

with two that with me: the company I gaue order to ſtand vpon their guard, & to maintaine two ſentries at the ports all night. To my ſupper he ſet before me meate for twenty men, & ſeing I could not eate, hee cauſed it to be giuen to my men: for this is a generall cuſtome, that what they giue, not to take againe, but you muſt either eate it, giue it away, or carry it with you: two or three houres we ſpent in our amenit diſcourſes, which done, I was with a fire ſtick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting me to the Riuer, ſhewed me his Canowes, and deſcribed vnto me how hee ſent them ouer the Baye, for tribute Beades: and alſo what Countries paide him Beads, Copper or Skins. But ſeing Captaine Nuport, and Maiſter Scriuener, comming a ſhore, the King returned to his houſe, and I went to meete him, with a trumpet before him, wee marched to the King: who after his old manner kindly receiued him, eſpecially a Boy of thirteen yeares old, called Thomas Saluage, whom he gaue him as his Sonne: he requited this kindnes with each of vs a great baſket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former diſcourſe, we paſſed away that day, and agréed to bargaine the next day, and ſo returned to our Pinnis: the next day comming a ſhore in like order, the King hauing kindly entertained vs with a breakfaſt, queſtioned with vs in this manner.

Why we came armed in that ſort, ſeing hee was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did we doubt? I told him it was the cuſtome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though hee ſeemed ſatisfied, yet Captaine Nuport cauſed all our men to retire to the water ſide, which was ſome thirtie foote from thence: but to preuent the worſt, Maiſter Scriuener or I were either the one or other by the Barge, experience had well taught me to beleeue his friendſhip, till conuenient opportunity ſuffred him to betray vs, but quickly this politi-

tian

tion had perceiued my absence, and cunningly sent for me; I sent for Maister Scriuener to supply my place, the King would demaund for him, I would againe release him, and they sought to satisfie our suspition with kind Language, and not being agréed to trade for corne, hée desired to sée all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would giue vs corne, with that auncient tricke the Chickahamanians had oft acquainted me: his offer I refused, offering first to sée what hée would giue for one piece, hée séeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did scorne to sell, but we freely should giue him, and he liberally would requite vs.

Captaine Nuport would not with lesse then twelue great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much corne as at Chickahamania, I had for one of lesse proportion: our Hatchets hée would also haue at his owne rate, for which kindnes hée much séemed to affect Captaine Nuport, some few bunches of blew Beades I had, which he much desired, and séeing so few, he offered me a basket of two pecks, and that which I drew to be three pecks at the least, and yet séemed contented and desired more: I agréed with him the next day for two bushells, for ẏ ebbe now constrained vs to returne to our Boats, although he earnestly desired vs to stay dinner which was a providing, and being ready he sent aboard after vs, which was bread and venison, sufficient for fiftie or sixtie persons.

The next day hée sent his Sonne in the morning not to bring a shore with vs any pieces, least his women and children should feare. Captaine Nuports good beliefe would haue satisfied that request, yet twentie or twentie fiue shot we got a shore: the King importuning mée to leaue my armes a board, much misliking my sword, pistol and target, I told him the men that slew my Brother with the like fearmes had perswaded me, and being vnarmed shot at vs, and so betraide vs.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might

leaue their armes, which still hée commanded to the water side, this day we spent in trading for blew Beads, and hauing neare straighted our Barge.

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came aboord, leauing me and Maister Scriuener a shore, to follow in Canowes; into one I got with fiue of our men, which being launched a stones cast from the shore stuck fast in the Ose: Maister Scriuener seeing this example, with seuen or eight more passed the dreadfull bridge, thinking to haue found deeper water on the other coste, but they were inforced to stay with such entertainment as a saluage, being forced a shore with wind and raine, hauing in his Canow, as commonly they haue, his house and houshold, instantly set vp a house of mats which succoured them from the storme.

The Indians seeing me perfect in the Ose, called to me, fiue or seuen of the Kings chiefe men threw off their skins, and to the middle in Ose, came to bear me out on their heads, their importunacie caused me better to like the Canow then their curtesie, excusing my denyall for feare to fall into the Ose, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats, to couer me, and I would content them: each presently gaue his helpe to satisfie my request, which paines a horse would scarce haue indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperors sent his Seruant Mantiuas in the euening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more scripulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how litle he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogge would scarce haue indured it, this kindnes I found, when I litle expected lesse then a mischiefe, but the blacke night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood serued to carry vs aboard: the next day we came a shore, the King with a solemne discourse causing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect, when as hée perceiued that we had a desire to inuade Monacum, a-

gainst

gainſt whom he was no profeſſed enemy, yet thus farre hee would aſſiſt vs in this enterprize: Firſt hee would ſend his ſpies, perfectly to vnderſtand their ſtrength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himſelfe.

Captaine Nuport would not be ſeene in it himſelfe, being great Werowances, they would ſtay at home, but I, Maiſter Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes, and Opechankanough. The King of Pamaunke ſhould haue 100. of his men to goe before as though they were hunting, they giuing vs notice where was the aduantage we ſhould kill them, the weomen and young children he wiſhed we ſhould ſpare, & bring them to him, only 100. or 150. of our men he held ſufficient for this exploit: our boats ſhould ſtay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conney each man a piece till we were paſt the ſtones, and there ioyne them, to paſſe our men by water, if any were ſhot, his men ſhould bring them backe to our boats, this faire tale had almoſt made Captaine Nuport vndertake, by this meanes to diſcouer the South ſea, which will not be without trecherie, if wee ground our intent vpon his conſtancie.

This day we ſpent in trading, dancing, and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke ſent his meſſenger, as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected mee, deſiring alſo my Father to viſite him: the meſſenger ſtayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan vnderſtanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paſpahegh, deſired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This new tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he liſted, and to try whether we would go or ſtay. Opechankenoughs meſſenger returned that wee would not come the next day his Daughter came to entreat me, ſhewing her Father had hurt his legge, and much ſorrowed he could not ſee me.

Captaine Nuport being not to bee perſwaded to goe ſo, that Powhatan had deſired vs to ſtay: ſent her away with the like anſwer, yet the next day vpon better conſideration intreatie prevailed, and wee anchored at Cinquoateck, the firſt twaine aboue the parting of the riuer, where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one called Opitchapam, the other Kataiough, to theſe I went a ſhore, who kindly intreated mee and Maiſter Scriuener, ſending ſome preſents aboard to Captaine Nuport, whilſt we were trucking with theſe Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, weomen, and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, ſhe ſeemed to reioyce to ſee me.

Captaine Nuport came a ſhore, with many kind diſcourſes wee paſſed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land: Opechankanough, conducted me and Maiſter Scriuener by land, where hauing built a feaſting houſe a purpoſe to entertaine vs with a kind Oration, after their manner and his beſt proviſion, kindly welcomed vs, that day he would not trucke, but did his beſt to delight vs with content: Captaine Nuport arriued towards euening, whom the King preſented with fiue great platters of fine bread, and Pamarowmana, the next day till none wee traded: the King feaſted all the company, and the afternoone was ſpent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no meanes hee would haue vs depart till the next day, he had feaſted vs with venizon, for which he had ſent, hauing ſpent his firſt and ſecond proviſion in expecting our comming: the next day he performed his promiſe, giuing more to vs then, then would haue ſufficed 30. and in that we carried not away what we left, hee ſent it after vs to the Pinnis, with what words or ſignes of loue he could expreſſe, we departed.

Captaine Nuport in the Pinnis, leaning mee in the Barge

Barge to digge a rocke, where we ſuppoſed a Mine at Cinquaoteck, which done, ere midnight I arrived at Weracomoco, where our Pinnis anchored, being 20. miles from Cinquaotecke, the next day we take leave of Powhatan, (who in regard of his kindnes gave him an Indian, he well effected to goe with him for England in ſtead of his Sonne, y^t cauſe I aſſure me was to know our ſtrength and Countries condition: y^t next day we arrived at Kiskiack, the people ſo ſcornefully entertained us, as with what ſignes of ſcorne and diſcontent we could, we departed and returned to our Fort with 250. buſhells of Corne, our preſident being not wholy recovered of his ſickne, in diſcharging, his Piece brake and ſplit his hand off, which he is not yet well recovered.

At Captaine Nuports arrivall, we were victualled for twelve weekes, and having furniſhed him of what we thought good, we ſet ſaile for England the tenth of Aprill: Maiſter Scriuener and my ſelfe with our ſhallop, accompanied him to Captaine Hendrick.

Powhatan having for a farrewell, ſent him five or ſix mens loadings, with Turkeyes for ſworde, which we ſent him in our return to y^t fort: we diſcovered the river of Nauſamd, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may teſtified, at our firſt arrivall at Cheſiapiack: but that iniury Captaine Nuport well revenged at his returne, where ſome of them intiſing him to their Ambuſcades by a daunce, hee perceiving their intent, with a vally of muſket ſhot, ſlew one, and ſhot one or two more, as themſelves confeſſe, the King at our arrivall ſent for me to come vnto him: I ſent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the reſt of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at laſt he came downe before the Boate which rid at anchor ſome fortie yards from y^t ſhore, he ſignified to me to come a ſhore and ſent a Canoa with foure or five of his men, two whereof I deſired to come a-

board

board & to ſtay, & I would ſend two to talke with their King a ſhore, to this hee agreed: the King wee preſented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and ſent for victualls to entertaine the meſſengers.

Maſter Scriuener and my ſelfe alſo, after that went a ſhore: the King kindly feaſted vs, requeſting vs to ſtay to trade till the next day, which hauing done, we returned to the Fort, this riuer is a muſket ſhot broad, each ſide being ſhould bayes, a narrow channell but three fadom, his courſe for eighteene miles, almoſt directly South, and by Weſt, where beginneth the firſt inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly Eaſt, towards the Weſt, a great bay and a white chaukie Iland, conuenient for a Fort: his next courſe South, where within a quarter of a mile, the riuer diuideth in two, the neck a plaine high Corne field, the welker bought a high plaine likewiſe, the Northeaſt anſwerable in all reſpects: in theſe plaines are planted aboundance of houſes and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of moſt excellent fertill ground, ſo ſweete, ſo pleaſant, ſo beautifull, and ſo ſtrong a proſpect, for an inuincible ſtrong Citty, with ſo many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not ſeene: This is within one daies iourney of Chawwonocke, the riuer falleth into the Kings riuer, within twelue miles of Cape-hendicke.

At our Fort, the toles we had were ſo ordinarily ſtolen by the Indians, as neceſſity inforced vs to correct their bawling thieuerie: for he that ſtole to day, ourſt come againe the next day. One amongſt the reſt, hauing ſtolen two ſwords, I got the Counſels conſent to ſet in the bilboes: the next day with three more, he came with their woodden ſwords in the midſt of our men to ſteale, their cuſtome is to take any thing they can ceaze off, onely the people of Pamaunke, wee haue not found ſtealing: but what others can ſteale, their King receiueth.

I bad them depart, but flouriſhing their ſwords, they ſeemed

ſeemed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride drew me to turne him from amongſt vs, whereat he offred to ſtrike me with his ſword, which I preuented, ſtriking him full: the reſt offring to reuenge the blow, receiued ſuch an incounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I purſued them with fiue or ſixe ſhot, and ſo chaſed them out of the Iland: the beginning of this broyle, litle expecting by his carriage, we durſt haue reſiſted, hauing euen till that preſent, not beene contradicted, eſpecially them of Paſpahegh: theſe Indians within one houre, hauing by other Saluages, then in the Fort, vnderſtood that I threatned to be reuenged, came preſently of themſelues, and fell to working vpon our weares, which were then in hand by other Saluages, who ſeing their pride ſo incountred, were ſo ſo ſubmiſſiue, and willing to doe any thing as might be, and with trembling feare, deſired to be friends within three daies after: From Nawſamond, which is 30. miles from vs, the king ſent vs a Hatchet, which they had ſtollen from vs at our being there: the meſſenger as is the cuſtome, alſo was well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of Aprill, being at worke, in hewing downe Trées, and ſetting Corne, an alarum cauſed vs with all ſpéede to take our armes, each expecting a new aſſault of the Saluages: but vnderſtanding it a Boate vnder ſaile, our doubts were preſently ſatisfied, with the happy ſight of Maiſter Nelſon, his many perrills of extreame ſtormes and tempeſts. His ſhip well, as his company could teſtifie his care in ſparing our proviſion, was well: but the prouidence thereof, as alſo of our ſtones, Hatchets, and other toles, onely ours excepted, which of all the reſt was moſt neceſſary, which might inforce vs, to think either a ſeditious traitor to our action, or a moſt vnconſcionable deceiuer of our treaſures. This happy arrinall of Maiſter Nelſon in the Phenix, hauing beene then about three monethes miſſing, after Captaine Nupores arrinall, being to all our ex-

pectations lost: albeit, that now at the last, hauing béene long crossed with tempestuous weather, and contrary winds, his so vnexpected comming, did so rauish vs with exceeding ioy, that now we thought our selues as well fitted, as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of men, as also for all other needfull prouisions, till a further supply should come vnto vs: whereupon the first thing that was concluded, was, that my selfe, and Maister Scriuener, should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could prouide, to discouer beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements conueniently we might: fire or seauen daies we spent only in trayning our men to march, fight, and scirmish in the woods; their willing minds to this action, so quickned their vnderstanding in this exercise, as in all iudgements wée were better able to fight with Powhatans whole force: in our order of battle amongst the Trees, (for Thicks there is few) then the Fort was to repulse 400. at the first assault, with some tenne or twenty shot, not knowing what to doe, nor how to vse a Piece: our warrant being sealed, Maister Nelsonr eposed to assiste vs with the voluntary Marriners, and himselfe as he promised, vnlesse we would stand bound to pay the hire for shippe, and Marriners, for the time they stayed: and further there was some controuersie, through the diuersitie of Contrary opinions, some alleadging, that how profitable, and to what good purpose soeuer our iourney should portend, yet our commission, commanding no certaine designe, we should be taxed for the most indiscréete men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Captaine Naport, to whom only all discoueries did belong, and to no other: the meanes for guides, beside the vncertaine courses of the riuer, from which we could not erre much, each night would fortifie vs in two houres, better then that they first called the Fort, their Townes vpon the riuer, each within one dayes iourney of other, besides our ordinary prouision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: for truck

and

& dealing only, but in loue & peace, as wt the rest: if they assaited vs, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so conuey, that we should not share, but admit the worst, 16. daies prouision we had of Cheese, Oatmeale, and bisket besides our randeuous, we could and might haue hid in the ground. With sixe men, Captaine Martin, would haue vndertaken it himselfe, leauing the rest to defend the Fort, and plant our Corne: yet no reason could be reason, to proceede forward, though we were going aboard to set saite: These discontents caused so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our iourney ended: yet some of vs procured petitions to set vs forward, only with hope of our owne confusions, our next course was to turne husbandmen, to fell Trées and set Corne. Fiftie of our men, we imployed in this seruice, the rest kept the Fort, to doe the command of the president, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ship lay expecting ye triall of certain matters, which for some cause I keepe priuate: ye next exploit was an Indian hauing stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister Scriuener, & them next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, drew his bow at any that durst incounter him: within foure or fiue dayes after, Maister Scriuener and I, being a litle from the Fort, among the Corne, two Indiants, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with Terrasigillata, came circling about mée, as though they would haue clubed me like a hare: I knew their faining loue is towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to preuent the worst, I calling maister Scriuener retired to the Fort: the Indians seeing me suspect them, with good tearmes, asked me for some of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our Fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with vs, only for a spie: they offered to beat him, I in perswading them to forbeare, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the Fort: whereupon I caused to shut the Ports, and apprehend them. The

 president

prſident and Counſell, being preſently acquainted, remembring at the firſt aſſault, they came in like manner, and never elſe but againſt ſome villanie, concluded to commit them to priſon, and expect the event, right more we ceaſed at that preſent, an houre after came three or foure other ſtrangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, ſhinnes, and ſhooting gloves, their iealouſie and feare, betrayed their bad intent, as alſo their ſuſpitious departure.

The next day came firſt an Indian, then another as Embaſſadors for their men, they deſired to ſpeake with me, our diſcourſe was, that what Spades, Shovells, ſwords, or toles they had ſtolne, to bring home (if not the next day, they ſhould hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which miſchiefe no puniſhment will prevent but hanging, and theſe they would ſhould redeeme their owne 16. or 18. thus braving us to our dores, we deſired the preſident, and Captaine Martin, that afternoone to ſally upon them, that they might but know, what we durſt to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Townes, and ſpoiled, and deſtroyed, what we could, but they brought our men, and freely delivered them: the preſident releaſed one, the reſt we brought well guarded, to Morning and Evening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then cauſed them to mock ſorrow, which till then ſcoffed, and ſcorned at what we durſt doe, the Counſell concluded, that I ſhould terrifie them with ſome torture, to know if I could know their intent, the next day I bound one in hold, to the maine Maſt, and preſenting fire Muſkets with match in the cockes, forcet him to deſire life, to anſwere my demaunds he could not, but one of his Comonodos was of the counſell of Paſpahegh, that could ſatiſfie me: I releaſing him out of ſight, I affrighted the other, firſt with the rack, then with Muſkets, which ſeeing, he deſired me to ſtay, and he would conſeſſe to this execution Maiſter Scriuener came, his diſcourſe was to

this

this effect, that Paſpehegh, the Chickahamaniar, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, & Kiskiack. Theſe Nations were altogether a hunting that take me, Paſpahegh, & Chicahamanya, had entended to ſurpꝛiſe vs at worke, to haue had our tooles: Powhatan, & al his would ſeme friends, till Captaine Nuports returne, that he had againe his man, which he called Namontack, where with a great feaſt he would ſo enamoꝛ Captain Nuport & his men, as they ſhould ceaze on him, and the like traps would be laid foꝛ the reſt.

This trap foꝛ our tooles, we ſuſpected the chiefe occaſion was foure daies before Powhatan had ſent the boy he had to vs, with many Turkies to Maiſter Scriuener, and me, vnderſtanding I would go vp into his Countries to deſtroy them, and he doubted it the moꝛe, in that I ſo oft practiſed my men, whoſe ſhoting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and children; we ſent him woꝛd, we entended no ſuch thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to ſeeke ſtones to make Hatchets, except his men ſhot at vs, as Paſpahegh had told vs they would, which if they did ſhote but one arrowe, we would deſtroy them, and leaſt this miſchiefe might happen, ſent' the boy to acquaint him thus much, and requeſt him to ſend vs Weanock, one of his ſubiects foꝛ a guide, ꝑ boy he returned backe with his Cheſt, & apparell, which then we had giuen him, deſiring another foꝛ him, ꝑ cauſe was, he was practiſing with the Chikahamanias, as the boy ſuſpected ſome villanie, by their extraoꝛdinary reioyt, & ſecret conference from whence they would ſend him. The boy we keeps, now we would ſend him many meſſengers, & preſents, the guide we deſired he ſent vs, & withall requeſted vs to returne him, either the boy, oꝛ ſome other, but none he could haue, & that day theſe Indians were apprehended, his ſonne with others ꝑ had loaded at our Foꝛt, returned, & being out of the Foꝛt, rayled on me, to diuers of our men, to be enemies to him, & to ꝑ Chikamanias, not long after Weanock ꝑ had bin with vs foꝛ our guide, whom we kept to haue conducted vs in another ſoꝛtie, w̄ a falſe excuſe

returned, and secretly after him, Amocis the Paspaheyan, who alwaies they kept amongst us for a spie, whom the better to auoide suspition, presently after they came to beate away: these presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of Amocis, the spie; but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whose true meaning Captaine Martin most confidently pleaded.

The confession of Macanoe, which was the counseller of Paspahegh: first I, then Poisser Scriuener, vpon their seuerall examinations, found by them all confirmed, that Paspahegh, and Chickahatum mia did hate vs, and intended some mischiefe, and who they were that tooke me, the names of them that stole our tooles, and swords, and that Powhatan receiued them, they all agreed: certaine bollies of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to thinke that their fellowes had beene slaine;

Powhatan vnderstanding we detained certaine Wainages, sent his Daughter, a child of terme yeares old, which not only for feature, countenance, & proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit, and spirit, the only Nonpariel of his Country: this hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in deformitie of person, but of a subtill wit, and crafty vnderstanding, he with a long circumstance, told mee, how well Powhatan, loued and respected mee, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse, he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, a Deere, and bread, besides for a present: desiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loued exceedingly, his litle Daughter hee had tought this lesson also: not taking notice at all of the Indians that had beene prisoners three daies, till that morning that she saw their fathers and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their liberties.

Opechaukanough, sent also vnto vs, that for his sake, we

would

would release two that were his friends, and for a token sent me his shooting Glove, and Drater, which the day our men was taken vpon, separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same now all of them hauing found their peremptorie conditions, but to increase our malice, which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition, or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie for their men: In the afternoone they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gaue them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her: after hauing well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gaue them their bowes, arrowes, or what else they had, and with much content, sent them packing: Pocahuntas, also was requited, with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had vsed ye Paspaheyans very kindly in so releasing them. The next day we had suspition of some other practise for an Ambuscado, but perfectly we could not discouer it, two daies after a Paspaheyan, came to shew vs a glistering Minerall stone: and with signes demonstrating it to be in great aboundance, like vnto Rockes, with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indean to conduct me: but suspecting this some tricke to delude vs, for to get some Copper of vs, or with some ambuscado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him ashore, where abusing vs from [illegible] place, [illegible] drawne vs with him [illegible], or to haue giuen vs the flippe: I shewed him Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise, but for his scoffing and abusing vs, I gaue him twentie lashes with a Rope, and his bowes and arrowes, bidding him shoote if he durst, and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well recouered,

abusing us from place to place, and so seeking either to haue drawne us with him into the woods, or to haue given us the

recouered, and we not willing to trifle away more time then neceſſitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better content of the aduenturers, in ſome reaſonable ſort to fraight home Maiſter Nelſon with Cedar wood, about which, our men going with willing minds, was in very good time effected, and the ſhip ſent for England; we now remaining being in good health, all our men well contented, free from mutinies, in loue one with another, & as we hope in a continuall peace with the Indians, where we doubt not but by Gods gracious aſſiſtance, and the aduenturers willing minds, and ſpeedie furtherance to ſo honorable an action in after times, to ſee our Nation to enioy a Country, not onely exceeding pleaſant for habitation, but alſo very profitable for comerce in generall, no doubt pleaſing to almightie God, honourable to our gracious Soueraigne, and commodious generally to the whole Kingdome.

FINIS.

19. SMITH (CAPTAIN JOHN). A Trve Relation of such occurrences and accidents of noate as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne from thence. Written by Captaine Smith one of the said Collony, to a worshipfull friend of his in England. *Woodcut of an armed ship in full saïl. Printed in Black Letter.* Small 4to, full dark blue levant morocco, gilt back, inside border, gilt edges, by Rivière.

London: Printed for Iohn Tappe, 1608

THE EXCESSIVELY RARE FIRST EDITION OF CAPTAIN SMITH'S FIRST BOOK. ONE OF THE MOST MAGNIFICENT, IF NOT THE FINEST COPY EVER OFFERED FOR SALE. The entire list of copies cited in the Church catalogue are in permanent libraries, and it is possible THAT THE PRESENT MAY BE THE ONLY FREE COPY TO BE OFFERED.

"Newes from Virginia" is the headline throughout and truly "NEWS" it must have been for this is THE FIRST BOOK ON THE JAMESTOWN COLONY, the first permanent English settlement in America. Tyler in his "History of American Literature" calls this "the earliest contribution to American Literature."

This is the Kalbfleisch-Lefferts copy, with bookplate of the latter. IT HAS THE BLANK LEAF "A" before the title, AND IS IN PERFECT CONDITION THROUGHOUT. The title-page is identical with that illustrated in Fiske's "Old Virginia and her Neighbors." Later issues in the same year contain two leaves "To the Courteous Reader" signed J. H., which appeared in the Charles Deane-Church, and Christie-Miller-Huntington copies. In this added preface, the writer says "Some of the books were printed under the name of Thomas Watson, by whose occasion I know not unless it were the overrashnesse or mistakings of the workman." UNDOUBTEDLY THE COPIES LACKING THIS PREFACE WERE OF THE EARLIEST ISSUE. The present copy measures 7¼ x 5⅛ inches.